

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

## Premier Urged To Negotiate Peace Now

The National Executive of the Peace Pledge Union sent the following resolution to the Prime Minister on Tuesday afternoon:

THE Executive Committee of the Peace Pledge Union wishes to urge upon His Majesty's Government the desirability of taking advantage of the present situation to bring the war to an end by negotiation.

Not only have the neutral nations shown through offers already made that they believe such negotiations to be possible now, but their full participation with the belligerents in a subsequent conference would go far to ensure success. That such success could not be attained at the end of a war of exhaustion or by dictated terms is an opinion widely held in neutral countries and expressed recently by the Dutch Prime Minister.

There seems no reason to doubt that such an offer would meet with a response among the people of all the countries now at war and the Executive Committee of the Peace Pledge Union would therefore submit that by such action His Majesty's Government could best discharge their solemn responsibility.

## Wanted: A Plan For The Coming Peace

### PACIFIST IDEALISM IS NOT ENOUGH: SOUND PROPOSALS MUST BE MADE

By Philip S. Mumford

MIDDLETON MURRY concluded his article, "Crusades, Old and New" in *Peace News* of January 19 by saying, "There is a real danger that much of the finest material available for building a new world will be lost to the pacifist movement unless it can break free, more plainly than it has yet done, from the 'anti' attitude."

I believe that such a statement cannot be too often reiterated at this present time. Avowed pacifists may be relatively few in number, but the conscience of the world is much nearer to them than is generally realized. Some may think this sounds paradoxical, for the world's Great Powers are at war and the majority of the rest of the nations is on the brink of it. Nevertheless, I believe my statement to be true.

Those of us who took part in or can remember the last war cannot fail to recognize the revolution in the general attitude to war that has taken place since 1914. If you suggested then that war was immoral and futile you invited hostility and ridicule from all but a handful of the people. Today this statement meets with almost universal acceptance, even in the armed forces. Twenty-five years ago war was a glorious crusade; today it is something unpleasant and inevitable that has to be faced.

It is of course true that many of the slogans are the same, but this is but a superficial resemblance. There is a different spirit in our people. In 1914 we fought the present; in 1940 we are fighting the past. "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth have been set on edge."

The immediate problem is to see that the past does not catch up with us, for this could very easily happen. In words that we have heard many times during the last few weeks, "There must not be another Versailles."

This sounds very elementary, but this time we have got to be sure of the elementary things before we allow ourselves to be swept off our feet by high-sounding ideals that explode under the impact of reality and leave the hopes and sacrifices of a generation barren ashes. There was plenty of idealism in the Covenant of the League of Nations—and plenty of cynicism at Geneva!

This brings me back to Middleton Murry's phrase about breaking away from the anti attitude. What pacifists have to do now is to help others to make a sane peace rather than to stress their isolation from and opposition to their neighbours.

In his book, *Which Way to Peace?* Bertrand Russell writes of the pacifist, "He must therefore, if he is to be of any use in the present crisis, find ways of co-operating with men who do not share the whole of his creed." A knowledge of hard facts is going to make this path of co-operation much more obvious and easier to take. And a public opinion fed on facts is going to be much more solid and stable than one that succumbs in its bewilderment to unsound ideals and airy aspirations.

We might even learn something from Hitler who has said that the secret of propaganda is the constant repetition of simple ideas, repetition to the point of monotony—only the pacifist's allegiance to truth is unshaken.

#### Simple Facts Needed

The public needs simple facts. Why are we at war? What were the mistakes at Versailles? Why were they made and can they be avoided? What would constitute a sane and just peace today? Is Federal Union practical?

Here lies important work for the pacifists and work that is already being tackled by other organizations.

Do not let us be over-confident that past mistakes, because they are being widely recognized, will not be repeated.

Dr. L. P. Jacks, in a letter to *The Times* in December, reminds us that a liberal treaty was being canvassed by far-sighted men as freely during the last war as today—but no liberal peace was made. Already the almost generally accepted theory that the harshness of Versailles largely caused the present conflict is being challenged by

(Continued on back page)



CARTOON BY DENIS TEGETMEIER



PHILIP S. MUMFORD, who is a member of the National Council of the PPU and one of its advisers on policy.



## A Pacifist Commentary . . . Edited by "Observer"

A CORRESPONDENT who describes himself as "a pacifist and a Welsh nationalist," writes to tell us that while he has a very profound and sincere admiration for the remarkable achievements of the Finns during their twenty-odd years of independence, he has some suspicion in his mind that the Finns themselves are very largely to blame for the present catastrophe which threatens their very existence.

Such "suspensions" are not uncommon today in left-wing circles, for people who have little or no knowledge of Finland's history have to take their information either from the hysterically pro-Finnish capitalist Press or from the equally biased organs of the Comintern.

There is a temptation for the pacifist who is reluctant to face the less pleasant implications of his philosophy to lend his ears to propaganda which tells him that Finland is not worth defending. Such propaganda has obviously inspired our correspondent to raise some questions which, though of some historical significance, have no direct relationship to the present situation.

### Russia's Fear

The primary cause of the invasion of Finland was Russia's fear that the big capitalist Powers might attack her via Scandinavia.

The war was precipitated by Finland's refusal to allow her principal ice-free Baltic port, Hangö, to become a military outpost of the Soviet Union. The character and constitution of Finland is relevant only in that it explains why her national sentiment exceeded that of the three Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) which accepted the "protection" of the Red Army.

The Soviet Union, which for the past six years has presented itself to the world as a bulwark against aggression, has, in adopting the fascist technique of "self-defence" also adopted the fascist technique of self-justification.

Comintern propagandists have learned from Herr Hitler the phenomenal psychological effect of describing an enemy as degenerate and pretending to be the deliverers of a nation attacked. Hence the democratically-elected Finnish Government is called "fascist," "reactionary," or "right-wing," while in fact it was (before the creation of a more representative War Cabinet) a Socialist-Farmer coalition.

### Victim of War

Finland is a young democracy, and by no means so advanced socially as her Scandinavian neighbours; but if there are low wages there are correspondingly low prices, absence of unemployment offsets the lack of social services, to some extent, the co-operative movement is strong although trade unions are weak (these were dissolved by the short-lived quasi-fascist Government of 1930).

Finnish culture—particularly her literature and music—is considerable. Most of this is forgotten by Stalin's apologists, who base their judgment of Finland on the terrorism of the reactionary 1930 regime and the blood-stained history of the military leader Baron ("Butcher") Mannerheim.

It is true, however, that there is a great deal of American and British capital in Finnish industry. Hence, although it is fantastic to imagine (in spite of the existence of a small Karelian irredenta movement in Finland) that a nation of 3,800,000 people would attack an empire 50 times as large, Russia's fear that Finland might be used as a "spearhead of aggression" against the Soviet Union is not entirely unreasonable.

Yet it is fairly safe to assume that if war had not broken out between the Western Powers, the Soviet Union would not have felt it necessary to injure her prestige by embarking on her present adventure in Finland. The whole affair goes to prove that war, rather than preserving the independence of small nations, simply makes their extinction inevitable.

### Giving the Game Away

SOME people are puzzled by the apparent reluctance of the Western Powers to unleash the destructive forces of a "total" war.

Perhaps the chairman's speech at the annual general meeting of the Westminster Bank on January 31 provides us with one clue. The Hon. Rupert E. Beckett said:

"From a great part of the Western world, Germany has been virtually ruled out as a trader, through the vigilance of our Navy. This means the removal of a formidable competitor, especially as the exports of ourselves and Ger-

## Finland—Facts Behind the Propaganda :: "Removal" of a Trade Rival :: Unpublished Report on West Indies :: The Real Needs of the Unemployed

many, both highly industrialized countries, are similar in character. But this is not all. Other European countries also find their exports jeopardized by Germany's methods on the high seas, and some curtailment has naturally followed."

In other words, the present war is merely an extension of the war in the commercial sphere which has been waged ever since the Great War ended. It can therefore be no solution at all to the underlying problem—which is to substitute co-operation for competition in the business of distributing the world's produce.

### The Disinherited

IT has been revealed that after well over four months of war the total registered unemployed had increased by 157,131 to 1,518,896.

We are told that the weather on the day of the count was exceptionally bad, that with one exception it is the smallest January increase in recent years.

Three industries apparently account for the bulk of the increase: the building trade, 101,000; agriculture and horticulture, 16,000; and public works, 13,000. But there is still a 27,000 increase which these trades do not account for. Even when 130,000 are deducted from the January total, close on 1,400,000 remain. The turn of the tide seems to be very slow.

It may be recalled that by last August the previous January total of 2,039,026 had been reduced to the neighbourhood of 1½ millions, amid much glib talk of full employment and irreducible minimums. After two months of war the total had risen by 200,000 to 1,450,000 (on October 16).

Vincent Long writes:

"If the peace pledge is not a mere negation then the pacifist is already committed to a new world order, a 'kingdom of right relationships.' Therefore he cannot remain indifferent to the tragic plight of the unemployed."

"Certain writers have recently tried to persuade a bewildered public that the unemployment problem has been exaggerated. This is but one more example of that journalistic 'adultery of the brain' which (as Virginia Woolf reminds us in *Three Guineas*) is more corrupting than adultery of the body. Actually no-one is suffering greater privation these days than men and women without work."

"Moreover, the Government assumption that all surplus labour will sooner or later be absorbed is fallacious. This, indeed, is not a mass problem but a group problem. Better educational provisions, for example, are needed for young people of 14 to 18 years of age; and more generous pensions for older folk who are no longer able to sweat and struggle for bread."

"Constructive work is possible, even in wartime, for many of those in other age groups. Railway stock is depreciating. Roads are passing into disrepair; bridges are crumbling; half-finished houses have been abandoned; and slumdom forgotten—apparently for duration."

"The Ministry of Labour statistics fail to indicate the widespread nature of the problem. In addition to the 1,518,896 registered claimants there are many on public relief. There are also those who will not submit to the humiliation imposed at certain labour exchanges and relief offices. There are innumerable 'small-business' bankruptcies—a direct result of the war. There are vast numbers of temporary civil servants, ARP, and other war workers who belong potentially to the unemployed."

"Moreover, the official figures must be multiplied twice or thrice to include the mothers and children whose mental and physical health suffers when the husband and father is shut out from the labour market."

"An approach is to be made to the Government by the Christ and Unemployment Crusade demanding constructive action. This must include:

- "1. Immediate alleviation of the hardships of unemployment;
  - "2. Provision of creative employment;
  - "3. A long-term policy of reconstruction."
- "Nothing less is adequate in a country with so passionate a faith in freedom."

ever more identical, especially with each meeting of the Supreme War Council (another was held this week), the condition of democracy continues to show considerable discrepancies as between them.

There may be various explanations, but one that seems valid is that public opinion in France—or rather, private opinion!—is more violently, or at any rate potentially violently, opposed to the war than it is in this country.

A French correspondent living in this country who has recently returned from a visit to France writes:

"My brother-in-law was on leave and told me of the spirit of the front line. The soldiers want one thing only—to come back to their families and homes. The officers, some of them belonging to the extreme right wing, say that liberty of speech is very precious, and it is illogical to fight because war deprives us of it."

"I felt that the great majority of the people would accept a peace with enthusiasm, and would follow the men who would propose a true peace, enthusiastically." (The writer asserts, elsewhere, that "the repugnance of a big part of the Chamber for war" is "certain.") "But liberty of expression is entirely lost now."

Peace News has already drawn attention to this fact from time to time. Referring to the suppression of one of the progressive sheets, our correspondent writes that the editors "said that it was because the review had become too prosperous, with many new readers sending approving letters and money."

"There is now in France a system of police dictatorship. When you receive a letter you can never be sure it has not been opened." In one case known to our correspondent, a woman teacher, whose letter to a relative had arrived apparently without being opened, was called to the Ministry of Education where she saw a copy of her letter! They "made her retire" from her job.

The conditions under which three trade unionists are imprisoned for four and five years, for issuing a leaflet on the very day the censorship was established, as described by our correspondent, are such as to warrant the question, "Is it better than Nazi prisons?" It is felt by their friends that only if it came from England could intervention on their behalf be effective.

A LONDON evening newspaper said last week that publication of the report of the Royal Commission on the West Indies was being held up.

It was intended for publication in October. A modified version of the report has actually been printed—but not issued. It is now believed that West Indians are being asked not to insist on publication of the entire report, on the understanding that steps will be taken to remedy some of the worst abuses it uncovers.

One can well understand this reluctance in official circles to give the report publicity. As long ago as December 9, 1938, *Peace News* reported that the Commission had found that housing conditions in the slum areas of Kingston, Jamaica, were "deplorable, disgusting, and depressing." Their report doubtless contains facts which will justify such a description.

If a veil of silence is allowed to be drawn over the worst evils which it was the Commission's job to investigate, it will mean that war has obscured yet another feature of our democracy—the right of access to information on which full discussion and action can be based.

### French "Democracy"

THE contrast between conditions in the two countries which claim to be standing together for democracy against dictatorship is one of the more remarkable features of this remarkable war. While official policy in the two countries becomes

## AN UNPLEASANT SUBJECT

Like other unpleasant things it comes into your life through circumstances that are seemingly attractive. First, the pleasure, and afterwards the pain. To its preliminary warnings you pay little heed, for your subsequent great remorse. Steadily its tentacles enfold you; and when the inevitable day of reckoning comes you are powerless to resist. Retribution will not be denied, and you must pay. We allude, of course, to income tax.

Well, these are days for action rather than grumbling. You can avoid the same fate in future by taking advantage of a concession the State gladly allows you. Put your savings in St. Pancras Building Society and, because of a special arrangement between building societies and the Revenue authorities, you will have no tax to pay on the interest.

And what interest! If you take up your shares now—and in any case not later than March 31st—you will get four per cent. per annum, absolutely free of tax. You should act promptly, however, for the opportunity will soon be gone.

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# Pacifism is NOT Enough

says

## Frank Dawtry

*in this, the first of a series of three articles, in which he is 'Speaking Personally'*

WE have had a brilliant series of articles under the heading "Speaking Personally," always by people with well-known names or exciting careers, so that it will be well perhaps for a humble member now to put his ordinary thoughts before his fellows.

After some years of work (limited) and thought (also limited) in the pacifist movement, never as a leader, I can summarize in one phrase most of what I want to say, which is that "Pacifism is not enough."

During my late youth, in the first years of trade slump immediately after the last war, I lost my own job, and soon found myself listening to speeches at demonstrations of the unemployed in a great armament city. It was thus that I first made the acquaintance of socialist and communist doctrine, which soon convinced me of the soundness of their foundations.

By the age of 21 I considered myself a socialist, and joined the Independent Labour Party, then at the height of its power and influence. I remember it as a body of an almost spiritual character, and it was not long before the very strong pacifist element in that organization inspired me to throw what energies I had into the cause of pacifism.

### Too Timid

Though I did what I could in the ordinary political work, this activity soon began to appear to me as of minor importance if the menace of war was not removed from the world. From that stage I came to feel that it was necessary to make a definite drive for pacifism and to unite pacifist thought in both political and religious spheres for this purpose; but in both of these any real attempt to express pacifist faith either had to be hedged round with apologies, or had to go along with a political programme of many compromises.

The official religious glorification of war and acceptance of the existing order made many would-be pacifists far too timid. The political concentration on purely economic affairs, with rapid loss of spirit and idealism made other would-be pacifists far too militant. And so I was led gradually to lose much of my faith that either organized prayer or mass voting would get us anywhere in the direction of pacifism.

FROM 1927 my activities went into the No More War Movement, where an attempt was made to get the best of both worlds in the cause of pacifism, but my own pacifism became increasingly personal.

I felt (and still feel) that the essential expression of pacifism must be in fellowship and affection, and I hoped that if in groups we could establish that fellowship, members would each be strengthened to go out into their everyday affairs and just "be pacifist." Any expression of pacifism seemed to me, I think rightly, to be another step in the direction of the achievement of the pacifist ideal. But any departure from pacifism in personal conduct came to mean, therefore, a betrayal of the cause I loved, and I began to wonder whether I did not finally spend so much time examining my own motives and actions that for all progressive purposes I must have become almost impotent.

This is not, however, to make a public recantation! I do not think anyone can

lightly embrace the pacifist faith. I still think we might question very closely whether much of our eternal propaganda and organized enthusiasm and public demonstration of pacifism is truly pacifist—or whether it is just a retaliation by the same methods against similar efforts for less worthy causes.

We have to be careful not to move in the direction of mass thinking and mass action, which are the methods on which dictators thrive. To make ourselves a nuisance is not to be pacifist.

But on the other hand I think it is possible to withdraw too far, and a pacifism which finds no expression in public affairs may be almost worse than futile. Unless we are prepared to enter a monastery or a community and therein work out theories in shelter from the influences which normally break them down, we must try to find expressions of our pacifism which recognize and endeavour to influence the facts as life presents them.

To be perfect in our personal pacifism is no less necessary if we are to do this. In fact it is absolutely incumbent on us to aim at such perfection, for the active forces of evil in our society will otherwise find any weakness in our mental and moral armour.

So pacifism within, by the personal effort, helped by the essential fellowship of other pacifists in the small group of eight or a dozen as envisaged by Dick Sheppard, remains the first essential to fit us for our job. But we cannot stop there!

And I have been stopping there for some years, so I know!

THIS discovery of mine is not claimed as new. The Peace Pledge Union has tried hard to work it out, for many members felt that neither personal pacifism nor its outward expression in mere opposition to war, were enough. The *Peace Service Handbook* was their answer.

The social structure fosters evil and is based on an order in which war cannot well be avoided, but if we are to practise non-resistance to evil, the only decent alternative is active work for that we consider to be good, combined with constructive attempts to help the victims of the evil.

I do not myself think we can solve any social problem by such ministrations, unless we have in mind the ultimate restoration of individuality and personality to those we are trying to befriend, and the pacifist should not approach any social work except with that end in view.

### Need for Service

The *Peace Service Handbook* was largely devoted to an attempt to show us how and where we could help in the spread of such enlightenment and in the provision of practical assistance to the suffering and needy, and it is a matter of regret to me to learn that the sale of the *Handbook* has almost ceased since war was declared. For the social services are more necessary and at the same time more neglected in wartime than in peace. There is consequently a greater opportunity for pacifists to devote themselves to the maintenance of some of the social services which will certainly contribute to the preservation of such decencies as can survive any war.

On the arrival of the war, the supporters of war ran from social service to "national service"; while thousands of people who suddenly discovered a desire to serve their fellows were running about in circles

wondering what to do. Pacifists were by no means immune from this folly, and I personally regret, for instance, the sudden launching of the idea of a Pacifist Service Corps.

If the Government and its supporters failed in their supposed first duty—to "carry on"—the pacifist, of all people, should have been able to show that pacifism and its expression were the same thing in time of war as in time of peace.

### Great Opportunities

Voluntary educational work for both adults and young; much personal service for the blind, ill, crippled, mentally defective; boys' club work, unemployed recreational schemes craft work; educational and restorative work in prisons, &c., have all suffered badly at a time when they are most necessary if the people they were designed to help are not to fall, with other more obvious victims, into the casualty lists of war.

There was never any noticeable rush of pacifists to serve in these organizations in peace-time, even though some of them are peculiarly suitable for pacifists. But when those who normally perform these services forget or neglect them for what they feel to be more important matters, someone must come to the rescue.

Many pacifists, I know, feel that no patch-work can be of any use, but there are great opportunities, and many of the voluntary services do a good deal by fair dealing and honest approach to restore to distressed minds and hearts at least a little hope and encouragement.

## BOOKS

### Background of the Bruderhof

The First Christians. Eberhard Arnold. Bruderhof Press.

MANY readers of *Peace News* are by now acquainted with the Bruderhof, at Ashton Keynes, Wiltshire. Hundreds of us have been there; and have admired the courage and resource of this company of three hundred men, women and children who, not content with talking about peace and a new Christian social order, have actually given up everything in order to build these things in concrete fact before our eyes.

We shall therefore be the more delighted that the Bruderhof Press has found it possible, in addition to all its other literary work—and what admirable printing it is, by the way, that the Press does, for instance, in its bulky periodical, the *Plough*—to produce an English edition of their founder's intensely interesting and important work on the Early Christians.

Eberhard Arnold, as those of us who remember him personally can well testify, was above all a great Christian. It was because he followed Christ more closely than other men that he realized that Christ's will was that His teachings should be put once more into operation in a community which included every side of life, the economic as well as the pietistic, within the compass of the Christian allegiance. Eberhard Arnold was also a great scholar, above all in the original literature of the first three Christian centuries.

The leading conceptions of his most significant little book may be summarized as follows, but under protest, for to summarize them is to deprive them of their life.

Fundamental to these conceptions is that of the *Peace Witness* of the early Church, this was based on the belief that by His life and death for men and amongst men Jesus Christ had brought into existence a new world-order, founded on the living sovereignty of God. It was to be a world-order of universal Peace; and also of joy for the poor, expressed under the symbolism of a banquet. God Himself, in Christ, is the redemption of the world from evil and death, but the world is so pervaded by dark forces of godlessness that it can only be won by God's giving life itself for man. Hence the Crucifixion of God in Christ is the central and decisive fact in all history. Jesus called men to conquer the will-to-power and the will-to-possession by devoted good-will to all mankind, but this means readiness for hatred and death. "The dying power of the sacrifice of Jesus heralded the heroic readiness for the martyr-way." Strength for this way is to be won through sharing the power of Christ's resurrection.

These were the driving ideas of the early Christian Church; they found certain very practical outcomes. Property was transcended, and goods that had been privately held passed to the community. There were joyful communal meals (how they sing at the Bruderhof meal-times today!); and there was joyful communal worship. There was fearless proclaiming of the truth, and a Spirit-filled oneness of communal life with Christ Risen and Living. Communion with Christ became communion with one another, in a soldier-life of sacrifice and hardship. Within the first Christian brotherhood there was complete equality, and the development of a new society.

The following are the essential features of this early Christian society as Eberhard Arnold sees them.

It was largely proletarian, composed indeed of slaves. It was an economic and working col-

Ll. G. said:



John Millar.

### 1914-1918

"The last great struggle revealed not only the horrid and squalid aspects of war but its muddles; its futilities; its chanceiness; its precariousness; its waste-fulness of the lives, the treasure and the virtues of mankind—all that demonstrates the supreme stupidity of committing to such a brutal and blunder-headed tribunal as War the determination of issues upon which the happiness and progress of humanity so largely depend.

"When all the people that on earth do dwell are gladly scraping the butter off their own and their children's bread in order to keep the god of war fit and sleek, it is necessary to show them clearly what a fool he really is."

D. LLOYD GEORGE,  
in the preface to his "War Memoirs."

lective, within which a lazy person could not be a believer. Rich brethren could only join it by means of distributing their wealth to the poor. The brotherhood spirit was so strong that many cases are recorded in which one brother sold himself into slavery in order to free another brother, or gave himself up to be imprisoned for debt on his behalf. Help was freely and generously given to needy Churches abroad. In every Christian group at least one widow was deputed to see to it by day and night that no sick or needy person was neglected. "Street by street every Christian is required to seek out all destitute homes." A bitter opponent of the Faith could say that "these Christians put us to shame, for they care for our poor as well as their own."

Within the community all had equal personal rights, an equal obligation to work, equal opportunities of gaining a livelihood, an equal social position, and equally simple standards of life. There was absolute continence before marriage, absolute monogamy and marriage faithfulness. Slavery and social oppression were fearlessly combated though not by methods of violence: there was fierce denunciation of public sin, for instance, in the matter of the gladiatorial games. The Roman Caesarism was opposed because of its connexion with idolatry and Emperor-worship; yet the Christians would have nothing to do with any movement of violent revolution. Their attitude to Caesar-worship meant that they always had to be prepared for martyrdom; yet this was regarded as a dying with Christ. "Every new martyrdom became a triumph festival over the powers of this world."

Like the imperial soldier Christ's wandering ministers could be entangled in no commercial transactions, and had to be content with the simplest living conditions. Perhaps for this reason they became the leaders of a community-life centred round the Living Christ as the one Captain and Comrade in struggle, whose abiding Spirit would sustain his followers in all their need.

This is but a brief poor summary of the great things which Eberhard Arnold lays before us in this highly-concentrated little volume. As we read it, we realize that he is writing not merely of a community two thousand years old, but also of the new community which he founded in Germany, and which in these days is witnessing to Christ in our own Wiltshire.

John S. Hoyland

### A.E.H.

The Collected Poems of A. E. Housman. Cape. 7s. 6d.

Admirers of the work of the late A. E. Housman will be grateful to Messrs. Cape for this, the first complete and meticulously accurate edition of his poems, handsomely printed and bound and reasonably priced.

In addition to revised reprints of *A Shropshire Lad* (first published, 1896), *Last Poems* (1922), *More Poems* (1936), the eighteen poems printed in his brother Laurence's *A. E. H., A Memoir* and three translations which appeared in *Odes from the Greek Dramatists* (1890), the volume contains two poems which appear in book form for the first time and three which have been rescued from oblivion between the forgotten covers of obscure periodicals.

Be sure to read the February issue of  
**WAR COMMENTARY**  
as varied and thought provoking as usual!

Reg Reynolds writes on Power Politics; A. Terry on Wages and the Workers; Dorothy Pizer on the Empire; Albert Meltzer on the Press and C.O.s, besides full-length articles on Ireland, the problems of "humanising" war, etc. . . .

16 pages 2d. (postage 1d.)

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## Therefore . . . by WILFRED WELLOCK Mr. ATTLEE'S SPEECH

IN his broadcast of February 3, Mr. Attlee made many claims which the Peace Pledge Union would fully and heartily endorse. His castigation of imperialism and of the present social system, and his passionate plea for the abandonment of the former and the transformation of the latter, would have the enthusiastic backing of almost every member of the PPU.

But instead of calling upon us to support these aims here and now, Mr. Attlee advanced arguments in support of the war which really astonished me. Yet I believe they are the best arguments which Labour can produce. Mr. Attlee is one of the clearest thinkers in the Labour Party, and has the gift of clear and concise expression, while no-one doubts his sincerity. But I cannot understand a Socialist of his calibre advancing such arguments as he did on this occasion, in defence of the Labour Party's support of the war. His case rested on two arguments:

1. That the war is the result of the Government's failure to deal strongly with aggression when it first manifested itself in the Japanese invasion of Manchuria.

2. That if Nazism is not defeated it will mean the end of liberty here.

**Argument 1.** Mr. Attlee is fundamentally wrong. The present war, like the invasion of Manchuria and all the wars in between, has arisen because of the grossly unjust disposition of the world's economic resources. Mr. Attlee will not deny that. Nor do I see how he can deny that the self-evident deduction from that fact is that the road to peace lies solely in the removal of the admitted injustice.

### Labour's Mistake

In every international crisis from 1931 down to the present war the Labour Party has made the supreme and tragic mistake of attacking the secondary aggressor, instead of the primary and causative aggressors, one of whom happens to be Britain.

It is very much easier to fight an enemy a long way off than the enemy on one's doorstep; but a party which takes the line of least resistance will never save its nation's soul and may very well lose its own. Ever since the world economic collapse of 1930, the one duty of the Labour Party was to preach the doom of capitalism and the inescapable conditions of national and world salvation, and to refuse to be deflected from that course under any circumstances.

To fight the Japanese, the Italians and the Germans, by boycotts, sanctions, or military war, for doing nothing more than we had done, for trying to be even

## An Anthology of Peace and War

Arranged by Vincent Long

### Laurence Housman

LIGHT looked down and beheld Darkness.  
"Thither will I go," said Light.  
Peace looked down and beheld War.  
"Thither will I go," said Peace.  
Love looked down and beheld Hatred.  
"Thither will I go," said Love.  
So came Light and shone.  
So came Peace and gave rest.  
So came Love and brought Life.

### Francis Thompson

I DIMLY guess what Time in mists con-  
founds.  
Yet ever and anon a trumpet sounds  
From the hid battlements of Eternity. . .  
His name I know, and what his trumpet  
saith.

—Hound of Heaven.

### Siegfried Sassoon

THE House is crammed: tier beyond tier  
they grin  
And cackle at the Show, while prancing  
ranks  
Of arlts shrill the chorus, drunk with din;  
"We're sure the Kaiser loves the dear old  
Tanks!"

I'd like to see a Tank come down the stalls,  
Lurching to rag-time tunes, or "Home,  
sweet Home."  
And there'd be no more jokes in Music-  
Halls  
To mock the riddled corpses round  
Bapaume.

—Blighers.

with us, for seeking redress from the power-politics and the economic nationalism of Versailles and Ottawa, was to assist the very process that since 1914 has been ruthlessly driving the entire capitalist-imperialist world to collapse, to world war, world revolution, and final ruin: it was neither scientific nor heroic. And the course which Labour ought to have taken throughout these last ten years, is its only defensible policy today.

**Argument 2.** How can Attlee prove this? Supposing the Labour Party even now crusaded as I propose, and succeeded as I believe it could, who can deny that a daring attempt to end imperialism and put the economic life of Europe on a new basis, would do more to undermine Hitlerism and check the spread of totalitarianism than this war is likely to do? Further, is not Attlee aware that the forces within capitalism which are responsible for totalitarianism, are operating in this war more intensively than ever in the past, and are insuring a post-war economic catastrophe which will bring Fascism here no matter what happens to Hitler?

**THEREFORE** I say to Attlee that Labour has no case in supporting this war, and that its historic mission in this crisis is to stake everything on seeing that Britain does her duty, plays her part in winning a new world; is to defeat the enemy at home, the love of power and the demand for privilege, rather than to relegate these things to the background and to fight the victims of imperialism, be they Japanese, Italians, or Germans.

### The Editor's Point of View

## "THE MAIN OBJECT"

TWO press cuttings before me provide, in some ways, an interesting contrast. One from the comparative obscurity of *The Times Literary Supplement* of September 16 last; the other formed the leading sensation on the front page of last weekend's *Sunday Dispatch*.

From the former cutting—an unsigned article answering blackout grumblers—I learn that "official policy would echo the opinion recently expressed by Lord Hugh Cecil in a letter to *The Times* that the saving of life is not the main object of civil defence. The essential thing is to keep normal work and life going, and to thwart all attempts to unsettle the civil population."

From the latter I gather that the *Sunday Dispatch* regards the Peace Pledge Union, among other bodies and people, as "enemies inside Britain."

### One Essential Idea

Yet there is an essential unity between the two points of view.

The "official policy," amounting to a determination that not even loss of civilian lives shall prevent the war going on, presumably means simply that the survival of anybody in this country depends upon our "winning the war." That is the object of "civil defence"—and of "uncivil defence," for that matter—not, primarily, the protection of the things we now have and hold dear.

That is really what is meant by the popular newspaper when it talks of opposition to the war (even when it is clearly part of an opposition to all war) as "perilous" to the country.

**A** PART from certain inaccuracies which are easily checked up, the *Sunday Dispatch* merely expresses anew the present general attitude, the prevailing assumptions on which the vast majority of our people base their thoughts and actions, and from which spring their more disastrous reactions.

In a word, it is the assumption that existence on this speck of dust of an earth is dependent upon successful competition with others also trying to keep their foothold on it.

While people continue to assume that competition is necessary to life, it is merely inviting trouble to lay all one's emphasis on stopping the war, by making it impossible to carry it on—whether by straightforward sabotage or by the incidental effect of increasing the number and determina-

## A Question of Conscience

by J. MIDDLETON MURRY

IT is always dangerous to trust a newspaper report, however conscientious, which gives mere extracts from a speaker's words. A statement taken out of its context may convey a mere parody of the speaker's meaning. With this caution I cannot refrain from quoting some recent words of the Chairman of the Lancashire Tribunal as reported in the *Manchester Guardian* of February 3.

They were addressed to a signatory of the Peace Pledge, who had said that when he originally signed, he felt that he would be able to serve in the R.A.M.C., but since then he had come to feel that he must not assist war by changing his way of life in any way. The tribunal was reluctant to believe that "conscience could make a man so impotent," but after hearing the testimony of the applicant's Methodist minister accepted his statement that this was his conscientious position.

"At the same time," the Chairman added, "we hope that the applicant will take every opportunity of conferring with and being guided by the Rev. Charles Grintell, because we think in that way he will get a more healthy and useful conscience, and a conscience more calculated to bring credit to Christianity."

### The Wrong Kind

The implications of this dictum are interesting. Obviously, in the view of the learned Judge, there is more than one kind

of conscience. The applicant happened to possess the wrong kind.

But if he put himself under the care of the Rev. Mr. Grintell he would probably be able to change his unsatisfactory conscience for one of the proper kind. This proper conscience would be (1) healthy; (2) useful; (3) more calculated to bring credit to Christianity; and (4) would allow him to serve as a non-combatant in the military forces.

I do not doubt for a moment that the chairman intended to be helpful: after all, he did accept the applicant's position and the Tribunal gave him complete exemption. But obviously he felt that the mere demand for complete exemption on the grounds of conscience is in itself an indication that the applicant's conscience is of an inferior kind, or at any rate in a bad way—such a bad way indeed that the chairman thought "he would suffer remorse in years to come."

### Onus on Objector

At the back of the chairman's mind (I think) was the conviction that the self-severance from the community involved in complete exemption is such that the demand for it is indicative of a diseased condition of conscience. This is not, in itself, a stupid conviction. But it does, entirely, miss the point of the modern conscientious objection to war. The demand that one's complete severance from the war-directed activities of society should be recognized as essential to it.

That recognition granted, the onus on the objector who is given complete exemption becomes heavy indeed: for now he is under the obligation, imposed by his own conscience, to find an activity within society which positively makes for peace. It is, perhaps, a pity that the distinction between these two "moments" of a modern conscientious objection is not more clearly apprehended, and the binding nature of both asserted. If it were, it might begin to be recognized that a modern conscience not only is not a discredit to Christianity, but is in the fullest sense a re-affirmation of the lost essence of that faith.

### DEFINITION

"Conscience: a philosophical term used both popularly and technically in many different senses for that mental faculty which decides between right and wrong. In popular usage 'conscience' is generally understood to give intuitively authoritative decisions as regards the moral quality of single actions; this usage implicitly assumes that every action has an objective or intrinsic goodness or badness, which 'conscience' may be said to discern much in the same way as the eye sees or the ear hears. Moralists generally, however, are agreed that in all moral judgments of this character there is an implied reference to moral laws, the validity of which is in some ethical systems the true subject-matter of conscience. . . . Conscience may be understood as the active principle in the soul which, in face of two alternatives, tells a man that he ought to select the one which is in conformity with the moral law."

—Encyclopedia Britannica.

### Between Two Fires



Soviet Generalissimo: "These are new recruits . . ."

Soviet General: "Good! Shall we send them to the front or shall we shoot them here?"

Marc Aurelio, Rome

Humphrey S. Moore



## "NO PROVISION FOR POLITICAL OBJECTORS"

### New Ruling at Bristol

From Our Own Correspondent

IT is obvious that the attitude of the South-Western Tribunal toward the political objector has changed since the recent decision of the Appellate Tribunal. The chairman made it quite clear on Monday that in view of this decision no provision is made in the National Service (Armed Forces) Act for the purely political objector.

(This tribunal was the first to give exemption to a political objector. The Appellate Tribunal for England and Wales subsequently allowed a Ministry of Labour appeal against the decision of another local tribunal to give conditional exemption to a member of the Independent Labour Party.)

### Local Results in Brief

IN the following analysis of local tribunals' decisions. A stands for unconditional exemption, B for conditional exemption, C for registration for non-combatant duties, and D for unqualified registration for military service.

#### SOUTH-EASTERN SCOTLAND

At Edinburgh, January 24, 25, 30 and 31

A	10	C	28
B	18	D	6
Total	62		

(One case withdrawn; two cases for Hardship Committee.)

Our observer reports that the tribunal endeavoured to persuade three theological applicants to withdraw their cases. They succeeded in one case. The other two were adamant that their cases should be heard, as they did not want to shelter behind the reserved nature of their occupation. Both were given complete exemption.

#### NORTH-WESTERN

At Manchester, etc., January 2-26 (including January 2-12, previously published)

A	27	C	73
B	75	D	73
Total	248		

#### MIDLAND

At Birmingham, January 29-31

A	42	C	10
B	42	D	9
Total	61		

(Three cases adjourned)

#### SOUTH-WESTERN

At Bristol, February 5

A	5	C	2
B	9	D	—
Total	16		

(Five cases adjourned)

#### NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM

At Newcastle, January 31

C	1	D	1
Total	2		

This was a surprise hearing of two cases before three members of the tribunal, two pressmen, and three members of the public.

"Refusal to fight on the part of only five percent of the world's youth can be made the rock foundation lying irremovably beneath all policies of reconstruction, a will to Peace upon which can rise a really adequate superstructure of organizations to promote conciliation and all just accommodations between the nations of the world."—Rev. Albert D. Belden, D.D.

## SOUTH WALES LABOUR OPPOSES WAR

### Hostile Reception for Mr. Attlee

From a Correspondent

IN at any rate one large stronghold of Labour there is definite antagonism to the war, and no confidence that any good will come out of it.

Labour Party headquarters and the Parliamentary Labour Party can no longer be in any doubt about this after an astounding demonstration at a delegate conference of South Wales Labour Parties and Trade Unions, nearly 1,000 strong, held in Cardiff on January 27 and addressed by Mr. C. R. Attlee on "Labour's Peace Aims."

Mr. Attlee spoke for about one hour, whether any good peace treaty could ever be built up on destruction, and there were also the pro-Soviet sympathizers.

#### Deep Feeling Evident

At times a dozen or more delegates were on their feet at the same moment, and temper and passion were in evidence in nearly every question and speech.

There was not a single demand from that huge body of politically-minded men and women for a war to a finish, nor was the crushing of Hitlerism mentioned.

The conveners of the meeting were hoping for "a large and enthusiastic gathering." It was large enough, and enthusiastic enough, but not in the sense that Mr. Attlee would have wished.

#### Majority Opposed War

At the close of his speech there was an hour for questions and discussion. At times the meeting got out of the chairman's control, and there was general pandemonium. Every question and every three-minute speech (except possibly one) was in opposition to the official Labour Party policy.

Questions and speeches ranged from protests against the war to severe criticism of the by-election truce, to questioning

# How India Will Gain and Hold Independence—by Mr. Gandhi

## "NOT MARKETABLE": DEFENCE BY NON-VIOLENCE

"Independence will come because India is ripe for it... It is not a marketable thing. It is a status."

"... the attainment of independence... will be through non-violent means." India "can settle down to peace only when she has independence which she can hold against any combination. This is possible only on a non-violent basis."

THESE passages occur in a declaration by Mr. M. K. Gandhi published recently in his weekly paper *Harijan*, which is of great importance in view of his interview with the Viceroy of India on Monday.

It was reported that this interview might lead to "a big advance... towards the attainment of Dominion status" for India, but the hope has not yet been justified.

Though written some weeks ago, Mr. Gandhi's words virtually answer these questions raised by Mr. Nalini Sarker in a statement published in the *News Chronicle* on Monday:

"Dominion Status, as interpreted by the Statute of Westminster, is virtual independence and all sections of Congress except the 'rightists' are likely to accept it as an immediate political goal."

"Two points are not yet clear. First how this goal can be obtained; second, how soon can the announcement be made."

Mr. Sarker, former Finance Minister in the Bengal Government, is now being mentioned in connexion with an important post at the centre.

### "Nothing in Return"

Mr. Gandhi's statement was made in answer to a correspondent who declared: "While you ask for India's independence you promise nothing in return. Don't you think a promise of active partnership would show a spirit of reciprocity and may well be given? Co-operation and interdependence is the law of life."

"India is in no position, even if it gets independence to be able to retain it. An Anglo-Indian partnership is our best hope, and a 'Constituent Assembly' on a wide franchise will only make confusion worse confounded. This work can only be rightly done by a few wise men."

"In the first place," replied Mr. Gandhi, "the Congress has not asked for independence. It has asked for a declaration of Britain's war aims."

"Secondly, independence, when it comes, will come because India is ripe for it. Therefore there can be no consideration to be given for it. It is not a marketable thing. It is a status."

"This, however, does not mean a frog in the well status. There may or may not be an alliance with Britain. My hope is that there will be."

"So long as I have a share in the attain-

interested in India being in such a position. And India is not a small nation.

### Non-Violent Basis

"I would far rather have India engaged indefinitely in a non-violent fight for gaining her independence than be satisfied with anything less as her goal. She can settle down to peace only when she has independence which she can hold against any combination. This is possible only on a non-violent basis."

"It may be far off. It may not be realized in my lifetime. It may even take generation. I have patience enough to wait. Joy lies in the fight, in the attempt in the suffering involved, not in the victory itself. For, victory is implied in such an attempt."

"I see no difficulty in a Constituent Assembly elected on a wide franchise. But I do in an Assembly of wise men. Where are they? Who will certify to their wisdom?"

## Bishop of Grantham's Criticisms

Following our note last week that the Bishop of Grantham has not replied to our request for a statement, he has now been good enough to send his comment, which we hope to publish next week with a pacifist reply.

### Test Tribunals

The following test tribunals for conscientious objectors will be held over the week-end:

#### Tomorrow (Saturday)

EDGWARE; Watling Centre, Burnt Oak; PPU.

#### Sunday, February 11

EWELL, Surrey; 7 p.m. Church Road, London Road; applicants invited; names to J. E. Beams, 4 Cottage Road, West Ewell, Surrey.

## THE WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Established 1921

55 affiliated Sections in 25 countries

Members in 68 countries

British Section

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

"I speak as a German war resister, who feels from the bottom of his heart the situation of all our comrades in prison and living under dictatorships."

"In our International we have two tasks; one is by common action to discover the means to prevent war; the other is to create within our International a community, a personal human fellowship, which the world must perceive and feel."

"The way to complete solidarity goes through the deepest loneliness. This absolute loneliness of the individual, the personal decision of the conscience, is that which cannot be taken away from us. Our unity lies finally in this last loneliness. But, recognising this quite clearly, we know that it is also our task to break through this solitude. Just as everywhere else, there are among us the Satisfied and the Hungry. I call those the Satisfied who have the great good fortune to have behind them the firm support of a democratic constitution. Our English, Swedish, American comrades are in this position, and perhaps we often envy them."

"But I would urge upon them, do not forget the Hungry! Think of the lonely ones, who, as with us in Germany, are facing the inconceivable, individually—alone—in Germany, in Russia, in Italy! Do not despise what is called the 'merely individual' war resistance of these lonely ones—but help them. Help them in their inner and outer struggle, which recurs day by day. It is so hard, this daily struggle, in which a German war resister lives today, because day by day he has the frightful burden weighing upon him of being obliged to ask himself:

"Can I still do this, or can I go on no longer?"

War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Mddx.

CHAIRMAN: THE RT. HON. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.



## To Regional Secretaries

YOU, and the Chairman of your Region, are invited to a preliminary conference to discuss better co-ordination of regions within the London Area to be held on Tuesday February 13, at 6 p.m. (before the usual members' meeting) at Dick Sheppard Club, King's Weigh House, Binney Street (late Thomas Street), Oxford Street, opposite Selfridge's. Light refreshments can be had at the club before or after the conference. Please see that your region is represented at this important first meeting.

JOHN BARCLAY (Convener).

## A "Peace News" Sales Drive

THE headquarters of the Peace Pledge Union is organizing the sale of *Peace News* between 1 p.m. and 2 p.m. every week day, that is from Monday to Friday, in the most populous centres of London. As a beginning they want to sell at the following places: Charing Cross Station (Lyons Corner House); Oxford Circus; Tottenham Court Road (Underground Station); Piccadilly Circus; and Marble Arch Station.

Will those who have an office adjacent to these places where *Peace News* could be stored, kindly write to Ian Rose, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1; also those willing to sell once a week, stating which of the above centres would be most convenient and preference for day and time.

## THE PACIFIST'S RESPONSIBILITY

By John Barclay

THE fact that a war is actually in process does not make it less futile or wicked. "To many its futility and wickedness are seen for the first time and they cry out too late—If only we had known." It is the duty of those of us who face public meetings to denounce war as firmly and passionately as ever and do our utmost to prevent its folly continuing.

To understand the constant changes of public sentiment (and to undermine the subtle power of war lies which influences it) seems to me to need all the help one can get from the psychologist and historian. We are a mixed lot in the Pacifist Movement and it is perhaps humiliating to discover that we are so much like the other "mixture" who say they support war.

### The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

Travelling up and down the country I am losing any trace I may have had of pacifist superiority. I know it is comforting to think we are "God's chosen few" or that we have "grown out of such war-like nonsense." The truth seems to be that many pacifists are as belligerent as the warmongers and many are as intolerant. I am becoming aware of a growing tolerance in the country in spite of the war—or is it because the war has shown up the awful effects of intolerance?

If only we can make contact with the millions who are wanting Peace as much as ourselves before the inevitable barrier of "superior wisdom" goes up between us.

there would be a great opportunity to influence the course of history. Psychology and History—the two subjects which all pacifists should study—the working of the human mind and the effects of that mind as examined under the microscope of Time.

Every group of the PPU could make a start by choosing for its contact-makers those who have had some training in psychology. You cannot expect to change the thoughts of millions until you begin to understand the way their minds work.

It is no use our condemning this war without first studying the last and by clear analysis pointing out how the same factors are at work and must most certainly lead to the same results. Condemning an individual for the war must mean condemning ourselves.

We are as much responsible as the rest of the mob and unless we are completely aware of our responsibility we cannot shift this burden to anyone else's shoulder.

What you and I think is important. If enough of us think the other way war will stop. Enough of us will not think the Peace way till each pacifist has taken on responsibility for the war and has determined to alter the shape of things. Then, by devotion to the cause of Peace, by renunciation and by literally giving ourselves up to the task of achieving our end, only then shall we move others. We are fortunate in our generation. We have those living who knew the last war and who studied it; those who were in the last war and renounced it while it was still going on.

With these men to inspire us we can read History more clearly, and not be misled a second time. Besides this personal guidance we have books which so devastatingly lay bare the lying nature of war itself that there is no excuse for those that read. The basis of all PPU work in groups should be study and a careful choice of trained individuals for the important personal contact work involved.

## What the Groups Are Doing

THE organizers of the West London peace rally at the King's Theatre, Hammersmith on Sunday thought that they would require only the area and the circle to accommodate the audience: they had to open the gallery before the meeting started! Well over 1,000 heard Andrew Stewart, the Rev. R. W. Sorensen, Will Morris, and Bob Edwards call for an immediate armistice and an effort to plan for real peace.

Mr. Stewart emphasized the futility of war. He challenged the argument that a secure peace could not be obtained now and that such a peace could only be made after victory. Mr. Sorensen called for practical good will in international relationships. Mr. Morris warned of encroaching totalitarianism here, and Mr. Edwards stressed the selfish, capitalist competition which was the economic basis of the conflict.

The meeting was enlivened by some heckling and interruptions by Communists and Fascists. A collection yielded £45. After expenses have been paid the organizers propose to hand over half of the surplus to the fund for aiding conscientious objectors.

### Barking's First Big Meeting

THE first big public meeting held by the Barking group on Sunday—in collaboration with other organizations in the newly-formed anti-war committee—was most successful.

Some 400 people were present when Andrew Stewart commenced a well-reasoned and telling address on the PPU case against war and its constructive ideas for real peace. The Rev. H. G. Tindall (Fellowship of Reconciliation) followed, calling for a closer following of Christ's principles both in individual and national life. Dr. C. A. Smith (Independent Labour Party) spoke from a political viewpoint; his address was "put over" with the technique of a practised speaker.

The meeting will undoubtedly be followed by others of a similar character. Barking is arousing from its apathy.

### International Social at Exeter

ABOUT seventy members and friends enjoyed an International Social held by the Exeter group on Saturday.

Miss Thorn, group leader, in welcoming the

visitors, said that much of the trouble in the world today could not exist if we were willing and anxious to extend our concern for the well-being of mankind beyond the walls of home and the frontiers of country.

Cyprus was represented by Mr. Pericles Macaris, who read a poem. Mr. Schless showed a film, made by himself, of the beauties of a Czechoslovakian winter and the city of Prague (in technicolour). A talk by Mr. S. Attia, of Egypt, revealed a keen sense of humour. Mr. Jabra, of Palestine, entertained the company with a lively Arabic story. And Mr. Galea, representing Malta, spoke of the charm of the island and its quaint customs. The last contribution by the foreign visitors came from Mr. D. Solomon, of Germany, who gave a very poignant survey of a nation during a period of travail.

Members of St. Luke's College PPU group provided a skit on the Casket scheme of Merchant of Venice which was much enjoyed.

### N. London Region Revives

A SOCIAL held in Edmonton on January 27 marked the completion of a period of "resurrection" of the North London region, which had been allowed to disintegrate since the departure of Mr. H. Granville Hawkes, the former secretary.

For a month the secretaries of groups in Enfield, Edmonton, Southgate, Wood Green, and Tottenham had been making plans for a revival of regional activities. The social was arranged to give an opportunity for members to meet each other, and to hear an address by Andrew Stewart.

Although weather conditions were very bad, some 230 members attended. Only 150 had been expected by the organizers, who were gratified, not only by this good attendance, but by the complete success of the evening.

After this good start, the secretaries are arranging, among other activities, a regional effort on Women's Peace Day in which they hope all members will co-operate.

### Hounslow Moves

ONCE again the Hounslow and Twickenham group has had to move. It now meets in The Hut (back of Church House), Douglas Road, Hounslow, at 3 p.m. every Wednesday.

### Southampton Progress

THE war has had the effect of drawing members of the Southampton group closer together. The annual meeting was well attended and it was decided to adopt the Nottingham scheme of contributions.

A committee was formed to run the business of the group and to arrange meetings. The group, in co-operation with the ILP, hopes to run a "Make the Peace Now" meeting early in March.

### Haywards Heath and District Peace Group

SINCE the outbreak of war, the Haywards Heath and District Peace Group has arranged successfully three public meetings, using invitation cards as the only method of publicity.

The local group meets every fortnight for discussion on a definite subject, the next three subjects being: "Why I am a Pacifist" (3 papers to be read); "Community," and "The League of Nations."

### New Leader for Southend

AT a members' general meeting at Southend on January 23, it was decided to appoint Mr. L. Thomas of "Halkyn," Sandhurst Crescent, Leigh-on-Sea, as Group Leader, supported by a Secretariat of four persons and a committee.

An ambitious future programme was approved by the members, and volunteers are urgently wanted for: *Peace News* selling; open-air speaking; leaflet distribution; discussion group; petitioning for introduction of *Peace News* into Local Library; subscription collecting; debating and representing group at meetings of other organizations.

All members not present at the meeting are asked to communicate with the Group Leader.

### Sybil Morrison at Easibourne.

DESPITE severe weather conditions a considerable audience turned out to hear Miss Sybil Morrison when she addressed a public meeting organized by the Eastbourne group on January 27, on "The Way to Peace Now." A resolution urging a negotiated peace now was passed by the meeting with two dissentient votes, and copies were sent to the Prime Minister and the local MP.

Miss Morrison, as Secretary of the Women's Peace Campaign, kindly consented to stay and discuss with those interested, over an informal cup of tea, plans for a local effort on February 17, the day of the Women's Peace Demonstration. It was interesting to note that male supporters did not want to be left out of the arrangements and were present in about an equal number!

Preparations are going ahead, and any others who would like to assist, should get into touch with Miss Betty Smith, c/o The Group Secretary, 1, Annington Road, Eastbourne, or at the weekly Group Meeting, which is held every Sunday at 2.45 p.m. at the Friends' Meeting House, Wish Road.

### Newcastle Film Show

THE Newcastle-on-Tyne and District Branch recently organized a showing of *Kameradschaft*, the well-known peace film. There was a large and appreciative audience in the Theosophists Hall, Barras Bridge.

On the following day, *Peace News* was sold and leaflets distributed outside the City Hall, where a meeting addressed by the Secretary of State for War was being held.

## Dates for Your Diary

Items for inclusion in this column should contain: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address).

As it is a free service we reserve the right to select items for inclusion.

Notices received after MONDAY will in any case stand very little chance of publication.

### Today (Friday)

BIRMINGHAM; 7 p.m. Digbeth Institute; Dr. Alfred Salter, Sybil Morrison and Herbert Whatley (chairman); PPU.

EPSOM; 7.30 p.m. Sherwood School, 6 Burgh Heath Road; A. Stephen Noel on "Pacifism and Politics"; PPU.

KING'S LYNN; 7.30 p.m. The Welfare Hut, South Everard Street; Alex Wood and R. H. Kerkham (chairman); PPU and Methodist Peace Fellowship.

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Reginald Reynolds on "India"; PPU.

LOTHBURY; 1.10 p.m. The Vestry, St. Margaret's (back of Bank of England—entrance in St. Margaret's Close); H. Runham Brown on "The War Resisters' International in War-time"; City PPU group.

NORWICH; 8 p.m. Friends' Hall, Pottergate; John Barclay on "What hopes are there for Peace in 1940?"; PPU.

STRATFORD; 8 p.m. Conference Hall, West Ham Lane; E. C. Redhead on "Pacifism as a Faith"; PPU.

TOWER HILL; 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; H. Runham Brown on "The War Resisters' International in Wartime"; City PPU group.

### Tomorrow (Saturday)

BOSCOMBE (Bournemouth); 6 p.m. Temperance Hall, Haviland Road; Rose Lewis on "The Economic Implications of Pacifism"; PPU.

LONDON, W.1; 7 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street; members' meeting for speakers specially; five minute speeches; audience invited; refreshments at the Club.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE; 2.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Pilgrim Street; annual general meeting; 4.45 p.m. tea; 6 p.m. public meeting; Andrew Stewart and Dr. Arthur Raistrick (chairman); PPU.

SIDCUP; 3 p.m. Plaza Cinema, Black Fen; Mass *Peace News* Sale; PPU.

STRATFORD; 3 p.m. Stratford Broadway; mass *Peace News* selling in connexion with Peace Campaign; PPU.

WORCESTER; 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Sansome Walk; Wilfred Wellock on "Whither Europe?"; PPU.

### Sunday, February 11

CATERHAM; 3 p.m. Co-operative Hall, Croydon Road; Basil Painting and Councillor Mrs. Morland (chairman); "What we can do Now"; PPU, FOR and other Pacifists.

GLASGOW; 3 p.m. Ruskin Hall, 190 Smithycroft Road, Riddrie; Rev. Professor G. H. C. Macgregor; PPU.

TEWKESBURY; 3 p.m. Abbey Garage; Wilfred Wellock on "Whither Europe?"; chairman: E. H. Bigland; Peace Group.

### Monday, February 12

SWANSEA; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, High Street; Richard Bishop on "The Basis of our Service"; United Pacifist Group.

### Tuesday, February 13

FOREST HILL; 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 1a Eddystone Road (off Brockley Road); Mr. Tom Brown (Anarcho-Syndicalist Movement) on "Anarcho-Syndicalism"; PPU.

HERNE HILL; 7.30 p.m. Baptist Church Hall, Half Moon Lane; Sir John Harris on "War and Peace Aims"; chairman: Sir Robert Young; League of Nations Union.

LONDON, W.C.1; 12.45 p.m. Cafe Embassy, 42 Theobald's Road; John P. Fletcher on "COs in 1914"; Civil Service Pacifist Fellowship.

PALMERS GREEN; 3 p.m. St. George's Presbyterian Church Hall, Fox Lane; talk and discussion on "The Church MUST speak"; Dr. A. Herbert Gray; Peace Group.

ROMFORD; 7.30 p.m. Ascension Church Hall, Collier Row; Mr. G. Dutch on "The purpose of the No Conscription League"; No Conscription League.

STRATFORD; 8 p.m. Unitarian Church, West Ham Lane (opposite Queen Mary's Hospital); Mrs. Pavitt on "Women awake!"; PPU.

TOWER HILL; 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; Charles Haworth and Maurice Briar; City PPU group.

### Wednesday, February 14

BAYSWATER; 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; Raven Thomson on "Fascist Economics"; PPU.

BROMLEY; 8 p.m. 13 London Road; A. Creech-Jones on "Have Pacifists a Peace Policy?"; chairman: Eric T. Roach; PPU.

NEW SOUTHGATE; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Waterfall Road; Reginald Sorensen; PPU.

EAST DULWICH; 8 p.m. Barry Road Methodist Church, Upland Road; Rev. Martin Tupper; PPU.

### Thursday, February 15

GLASGOW; 7.45 p.m. Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street (opposite Cathedral); Mrs. Muriel Whitefield on "A Socialist's attitude to War"; No Conscription League.

KILMARNOCK; 7.30 p.m. Masonic Hall; John Barclay, Lady Robertson and Oliver Brown; PPU.

### Friday, February 16

EWELL, Surrey; 8 p.m. Scouts' Headquarters (rear of Post Office), High Street; meeting on "Federal Union"; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Nancy Richardson on "The work of the Pacifist Service Bureau"; PPU.

LOTHBURY; 1.10 p.m. The Vestry, St. Margaret's (at the back of Bank of England); Andrew Stewart on "The Pacifist Task Now"; City PPU group.

PORTSMOUTH; 7 p.m. Central Hall, Fratton; George Lansbury, Dr. A. Salter and J. Howard Whitehouse (chairman); PPU.

## p.p.u. book shop

### NEW P.P.U. LEAFLETS

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★

### FOR THOSE WHO WANT TO BE FULLY INFORMED

The C.O.'s Hansard. Extracts from the debates of the Houses of Parliament on matters affecting conscientious objectors. No. 1. Covering the Military Training Act of May, 1939. 6d. Later issues will probably be 3d. each.

Obtainable from P.P.U. Literature Department, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1



## "Under Twenties"

THE subject (how first to broach pacifism to young people under 20) of Alexander Scott's letter in *Peace News* last week, is one to which the pacifist movement as a whole might profitably give more attention.

Having agreed, though, on the necessity for better pacifist propaganda among the youth of this country, I suggest that somewhat more constructive methods than the nation-wide literary variety shows Mr. Scott advocates will have greater appeal and more lasting effects.

Not by a trick to start enthusiasm for one more —ism, merely, but to convince him of the essential rightness of this philosophy, should be my aim.

Thus the closely-reasoned argument, and the essay deploring war, dismissed by Mr. Scott as useless for young non-pacifists, will figure largely in the attempted conversion.

Let us remember that the "seeds of pacifism" must have quality if the resulting plant is to have fertility.

WAYNE MINEAU

11 Oxgate Gardens, London, N.W.2.

I should like to endorse Mr. Alexander Scott's appeal for a more direct approach to the "under-twenties."

From my own experience, in adolescence the satire of my housemaster, to quote my statement as a CO: "made me realize that the difficulties we studied under (obsolete classrooms, restriction of materials and staff) were considerably due to the war-to-end-war and to the building of those ridiculous battleships the Nelson and the Rodney."

At 21, Robert Sherwood's *Idiot's Delight* helped to advance my hatred of "the things that make men blind, ignorant and dirty."

ALAN EARLE TUCKER

27 Lorne Road, Wealdstone, Harrow, Mdx.

## Points from Letters

### LAND MONOPOLY

The solution to the problem put forth by Wilfred Wellock is contained in Henry George's book—*Progress and Poverty*. Therein is shown that the "evil" system known as the capitalist system is nothing more nor less than our monopolistic systems; and the greatest evil of all is land monopoly.

### CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

Whilst making every allowance for the early age of the present objectors, I do really think that the majority of them are very unsatisfactory Conscientious Objectors. Their cases seem so unprepared—they do not seem to have thought and felt deeply enough on the matter, with all the backing, support and literature there is available for them these days. They are so occupied in what they are not going to do, that it seems to have escaped their notice that what the Tribunal would most like to hear is what active work they are actually engaged on.

After all, masses of boys with strings of hot platitudes in their mouths will not do a lot of good to the cause today.

ROY ASHBY.

Water Lane, Brixton, S.W.2.

### PUBLICITY

It is significant that, whereas in the Great War one heard nothing whatever of peace (until the Armistice), there is obviously a growing feeling now that this war is a ghastly mistake and likely to lead the country to disaster unless stopped, and the only way to help this forward, it seems to me, is to get all the publicity possible for the cause by holding meetings everywhere where the question can be debated freely by partisans of both sides. A good method to direct attention to the futility of the present Government policy is to reply to the speeches made by responsible ministers such as Mr. Churchill, whose reception at Manchester last week was as chilly as the weather outside.

C. W. COOKE.

Gatlands, 24 Warwick Road, New Barnet, Herts.

### INERTIA

The resignation of the people of this country to war is caused by inertia. The majority of people "have just never thought about" pacifism. We can introduce them to it by lending pacifist literature and by discussion, by laying copies of *Peace News* in trains and buses, and sending copies to Public Libraries, and by wider selling of *Peace News* in the streets.

JOHN F. MARSHALL

79 Main Street, Chryston, Lanarkshire, Scotland.

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Peace by Negotiation

THE statement by Mr. van Kleffens, the Netherlands Foreign Minister, published in *Peace News* last week (not given prominence by the Press) expresses some of the most sound views to which utterance has been given since the commencement of the present conflict.

The offer which is repeated, signifying Holland's readiness to assist the warring nation to open up negotiations with the help of Belgium, is one which should not be ignored, in spite of our Secretary of State for War's remarks on Saturday.

Every encouragement should be forthcoming to make this offer a sound basis upon which to plan an honourable peace. There are many thousands of thinking people who not only hope that every advantage will be taken of Holland's good offices but (rightly so) expect it.

W. S. GABRIEL

6 Westover Road, Broadstairs.

## Service

Believing that co-operation between members of a community should be at all times free, I disagree with the view expressed by Dr. Alex Wood that in any worth-while post-war world no-one must be allowed to evade the responsibility of social service.

It is generally accepted, even in quite primitive communities, that the physically and mentally fit shall bear the burden of the unfit. Surely this principle should be extended to the moral sphere, so that the industrious and altruistic bear the burden of the indolent and selfish, for as long as such people exist.

Dr. Wood's statement, "In the Christian scale of values, service is the mark of true greatness enforced by Jesus..." would be true if the word "upheld" were substituted for "enforced."

WINIFRED BEAR

"Lavington" 7 Bishops Road, Hove 4, Sussex.

May I ask Dr. Alex Wood one question? Isn't stopping this war and making a just peace "positive and constructive work"?

Absolutists are sensitive to the claims of the community on their service. Many serve the community by their normal work, many are lay-preachers, Sunday School teachers, active peace speakers and writers already, and do not intend to be shifted from this vital service by political pressure to do indirect "service" for war, which is what tribunals mean by "alternative service."

RONALD S. MALLONE

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### ACCOMMODATION

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BED-SITTING ROOM. Par. Board (vegetarian). Use of, or near Garage. Required by middle-aged Single Man in or near Dartford, Kent.—Box 313, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

THREE AUSTRIAN members of WRI want furnished flat within easy reach Oxford Circus. Two bedrooms, one sitting, kitchen, bath. Terms moderate.—Replies to Schimunek, 4 Orchard Leigh, Chesham, Bucks.

### BOOKS

TRUTH ABOUT THIS WAR. The book for which Action and the New Leader refused advertisements. Truth says "so dangerous that the authorities should lose no time in suppressing it." Two shillings and sixpence from British People's Party, 13 John Street, London, W.C.1.

### EDUCATIONAL

FELCOURT SCHOOL, East Grinstead. Co-educational 9-16. A thorough education in an atmosphere free from war talk. No shelters or gas mask drill.

GERMAN CONVERSATION CLUB, Saturday, 2.30-5 p.m. Charge 1s. 6d. Also lessons, advanced, beginners.—130 Bedford Hill, Balham, S.W.12.

FRENCH, German, Spanish, Italian taught by correspondence.—Macrini School of Languages, Osborne Road, Southsea.

### ESPERANTO

ESPERANTO: Pacifist Esperanto League.—Secretary, W. J. Bridgen, 232 Sellincourt Road, S.W.17. ESPERANTO PRINTING—same address.

### FOR SALE

HAND PRINTING PRESS and Type for sale; Cost £9. What offers?—Leslie Smith, 91 Grenville Gardens, Woodford Green.

### LITERATURE

RIGHTS OF MAN. Declaration by French Sovereign People, 1793 3d. (including postage).—Backhouse, 22 Colehill Lane, Fulham, S.W.6.

IF the feelings of the people I come into contact with every day are at all representative, there must be millions throughout the country who are opposed to this useless war, and who believe in peace by negotiation.

I propose a National Peace Petition, aiming at securing an overwhelming number of signatures.

LEONARD F. WISE

135 Woodgrange Road, Forest Gate, E.7.

## A People's Peace

I am in entire agreement with the views expressed by your two correspondents, Messrs. Conbeer and Ballinger, in last week's *Peace News*, on the question of "A People's Peace."

To obtain such a peace, however, will it not be necessary to obtain a "People's Government"? Very few, however optimistic, will expect the present Government to work for such aims, and judging from the recent utterances of the Labour Party leaders, we can hope for little better from them.

Does this mean that a new party must be formed or should we continue to rely on the old ones and hope to convert them from their present erroneous ways?

R. H. REASON

Grove House, New Road, Holyport, Berks.

## Congratulations

I am neither a pacifist nor a PPU member, though I maintain that a war that is not actually in self-defence is indefensible. I read *Peace News* every week because I like it and find therein plenty of common-sense and interest (although I except Federal Unionism, discussed by one writer, as impracticable).

Before the war I was a regular reader of the National Press, but I now studiously avoid it on account of wearying, continual war propaganda, untruthfulness, and monotonous "hymns of hate." Moreover, it is very depressing to read of the tragic and unnecessary waste of life on the seas, and even in our blackened streets.

It does not require a remarkable degree of perception to see the *raison d'être* of this war. To get the correct focus it is only necessary to substitute the words "Power Politics" for "Aggression", "World-markets" for "Hitlerism", "Capitalism" for "Democracy," &c. It would have been quite possible to come to an understanding with Germany without resorting to the vicious expedient of blockades and bombs.

Please accept my congratulations on your strenuous endeavours for peace.

(Miss) N. P. LOTT

90 St. Thomas' Road, Finsbury Park, N.4.

## Propaganda by Example

I FEEL the article in last week's issue by R. H. Ward on the above subject is very important and borne out in actual experience.

For instance, a friend of mine in Birmingham recently wrote to me of his finally accepting the pacifist standpoint and stated: "The example of a friend at the office had a lot to do with it. I think. He has always said quite calmly and adamantly, but without the least trace of self-assertion that, for a Christian, pacifism was not an alternative but the only possible course. He never tried to persuade me to take up his position but one or two things that he said I remembered afterwards and had to ponder over."

I agree with my friend when he also says "that it would be wrong for the Government to adopt the pacifist attitude if the majority of the people could not support it, for it would mean that suffering or death for the sake of Christianity would be borne unwillingly by the people, and that would be a mockery of Christianity."

It seems clear to me therefore, that it is the individual we have to change and not the systems, as these will improve as you improve the former.

ARNOLD SMITH

49 Clarendon Avenue, Trowbridge, Wilts.

## Self-Forgiveness

"We must forgive ourselves." An arresting but obscure phrase, as Reginald Reynolds found. Yet, I think it is at the basis of pacifism (although I personally prefer it in a different dress).

The point is that we are all so eager to have the food that we ignore the other side in ourselves (thus denying growth to greater wholeness) and work it off at the expense of society, externalizing our own evil desire for power which would be quite all right if absorbed to a deeper level.

The first thing we have to accept is ourselves as we are, not as we would like to be. The most interesting and lively book on this in non-orthodox vein in *War Dance*, by Dr. E. Graham Howe.

K. H. PRIDE

C/o 234 Cavendish Road, S.W.12.

## I.L.P. and Peace

As a member of both the ILP and the PPU, I cannot help wishing that the Independent Labour Party would come out wholly on the side of Pacifism.

It is not enough merely to renounce war without submitting an alternative policy, and to me the policy of the ILP does offer a programme of social reconstruction which would make war impossible. However, it is a programme which cannot be established with machine guns, as the Spanish worker has found to his cost.

HAROLD R. J. LEE

36 Hoylake Crescent, Ickenham, Middlesex

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### MISCELLANEOUS

INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE (Forest Gate Branch): 7.30 p.m., Tuesday, February 13, "Glendale," 234, Romford Road, Forest Gate, (500 yards from "Princess Alice"). Community Singing of Folk Songs of many countries. Conductor: Fred Simpson. Why not sing with us?

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### PRINTING

PACIFIST PRINTER. Handbills, leaflets, programmes, and general printing.—W. J. Bridgen, 232 Sellincourt Road, London, S.W.17.

### RELIGIOUS

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

### SITUATIONS

#### Vacant

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Also try Essona Eau de Cologne at same price.



## PREVENTION IS BETTER THAN CURE

Copies of "Peace News" ordered last week: 34,892 (500 left on Tuesday).  
Last week's donations to "Peace News" Fund: £10 15s. 4d.  
Total of "Peace News" Fund to date: £458 10s. 1½d.

ACCOMPANYING a donation of £2 12s. to the Peace News Fund on Monday, was this letter from an anonymous reader:

"Many readers have been or will be asked to contribute to the Red Cross fund by a deduction of 1d. per week from their wages, or in other ways.

"To decline support to this seemingly benevolent work of helping the suffering seems callous, and we are sure to be misunderstood if we refuse.

"May I, for one, say why I have not supported this appeal at the present time?

"The Red Cross has already collected a million pounds, although it has practically no casualties to deal with. It is now trying to accumulate a further vast sum. The object is to be ready to patch up the wounded and tend the expected casualties when the war-mongers pursue their futile policy a stage further.

"Although unintentional, the effect is to help them to proceed with the war by in some degree mitigating its evil effects.

"While we all would wish to help in alleviating suffering of any kind, and by anybody, I suggest that our money would be better spent in trying to prevent the casualties ever taking place. Let us spend our energies in urging the belligerent countries to negotiate an armistice now, before it is too late.

"I prefer to spend my money on supporting the policy of *Peace by Negotiation Now*—before the fighting really starts. I can think of no better way than of sending my shilling a week for the year to help *Peace News* in its fight for this casualty-preventing policy rather than prepare to mend casualties that never need occur."

(The Peace News fund was launched to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's activity the subsidy at present paid to *Peace News*. Donations of any size will be welcomed and individual acknowledgments will be sent. Cheques should be made payable to Peace News, Ltd., and not to the Peace Pledge Union, and should be sent to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.)

## PEACE NEWS

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor *Peace News* itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used.

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## Wanted: A Plan for the Coming Peace

(Continued from page 1)

those who urge that the next treaty must be harsher and not more lenient.

As the war goes on such sentiments will gather strength. There is grave danger that the powers of reaction, always in the ascendant during war, will make the peace and exclude from the council chamber the voices of those who warn the world of the consequences of another Versailles.

There are great forces in this country determined to exercise a liberal influence when the time for peace-making comes. They will need great strength and wide support—they should find it in the broad-minded co-operation of a pacifist movement that might well guide these forces wisely and ably.

Throughout the world the seeds of war have been scattered in the past and now they are ready to sprout. The moral condemnation of pacifists for those who do not hold their faith will not destroy those seeds. In none of the countries already at war did the people desire war.

Russia, mesmerized by the fear of power politics, has been sucked into the maelstrom. From fighting in Finland she may well become involved in the Balkans and so with Turkey. Further East her troops are concentrating on the shores of the Caspian, which means that Persia, Iraq and probably Syria and Palestine, are in danger of a rapidly-spreading war.

British troops mass in the Middle East to defend the oil of Kirkuk and Abadan.

China and Japan are still fighting—so are Russia and Japan.

Africa is rent with bitterness from North to South; in the North, Italian claims disturb British and French interests; in the equatorial area rival colonial claims and counter claims, for instance, the German claims to Tanganyika Territory, between the Haves and the Have-Nots prevent peaceful development; in the South the

fierce rivalry between British and Afrikaner is fanned by Nazi propaganda.

These are the problems the pacifists must face squarely. Our responsibility does not end with an assertion, however genuine and heartfelt, that we cannot take part in war. We have first to find the way to peace and then show it to the people. Not even honourable and useful social work absolves us from the responsibility of seeing that our government and our people prepare for peace as thoroughly as they prepared for war.

It is not impossible for us to draw up a peace plan if we are ready to draw on the knowledge and experience available. We cannot force the government to draw up peace aims, but we can compel attention for ours if they are practical as well as idealistic. The knowledge required before our peace aims can command attention is largely to be found outside, as well as inside, the pacifist movement—among those who study trade returns, those who administer our colonies and so on.

Simple statements of plain facts may seem dull and elementary work to many pacifists, but we shall serve humanity better, I believe, by leading the great majority a little way rather than a small minority all the way.

## More Support for "G.L.'s" Nobel Prize Nomination

THE Bishop of Chichester, Lord Snell, Lord Rushcliffe, Lord Clwyd, Lord Arnold, Lord Faringdon, Sir Alan Anderson, Mr. Pethick-Lawrence, Mr. J. R. Clynes, Dr. E. Sumnerskill, Mr. C. G. Ammon, and Mr. H. B. Lees-Smith are among a considerable number of additional signatures obtained from both Houses of Parliament in the last few days to the nomination of Mr. George Lansbury for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Mr. Laurence Housman, Canon Pat McCormick, Professor Norman Bentwich, Miss Rose Macaulay, Miss Sybil Thorndike, Dr. G. P. Gooch, Professor G. H. C. Macgregor, and Mr. H. W. Nevinson, are among influential people outside Parliament who are supporting the proposal.

## Aphorisms on War

"What is war?" asked the youth of the sage. "It is the gas-masquerade of the older babies," was the answer.

Murder is a crime—of course. War means its unconditional acquittal of the accusation.

Rich and poor are inseparable partners of war. The rich doubles his profits at the cost of the life of the poor.

War is the weapon of destruction. Its end always means the beginning of a new armorer's workshop.

War involves the resurrection of the lie. Its winter sleep means the temporary suspension of hostilities.

Pacifists are the traitors of the war. They reveal too openly the lie of the weapon.

They say it is a war of justice. Justice and War—what a combination! It is the synthesis of fire and water.

People say war is the only solution of an unbearable tension. Very true! It is the last shameful issue of preceding stupidities.

—DR. WALTER KLEIN (of Czechoslovakia).

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ASK YOUR NEWSAGENT TO DELIVER "PEACE NEWS" EVERY WEEK

## Advisory Bureaux

Following are further amendments and additions to the lists of Advisory Bureaux for COs already published in *Peace News*. Any similar changes should be sent to the National Advisory Bureaux, at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, and not to *Peace News*.

### Amendments

OSWESTRY. Dick Sheppard Centre, 15 Oswald Road, Oswestry.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS. Herbert Harrington, c/o Friends' Meeting House, Grosvenor Park, Tunbridge Wells.

### Additions

ENFIELD. L. C. Tearman, 7 Gracestone Gardens, Enfield, Middlesex.

HENDON. A. F. Mager, 123 Colin Crescent, N.W.9.

ISLINGTON. Will Haydon, 76 Calabria Road, N.5.

ROTHERHAM. Stanley Price, 5 Middleton Road, Rotherham.

## PLANS FOR WOMEN'S PEACE DAY

ARRANGEMENTS have now been made in Newcastle, Birmingham, Nottingham, Liverpool, Sheffield and Manchester for processions and meetings on Saturday, February 17, the Women's Peace Day.

Miss Sybil Morrison, who is secretary of the Women's Peace Campaign at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, would be glad to hear from all other towns in the country that some sort of demonstration is going to take place.

There will be a special women's number of *Peace News* for sale on Women's Peace Day. Male volunteers are wanted to sell. Send your names and addresses to Eric Atkinson, 108 Guildford Street, W.C.1.

There will be street marches in Watford, Dartford, Romford, Hoddeston and Wybridge, and any people connected with surrounding groups or who are accessible to these places should let Miss Morrison know as soon as possible if they wish to be put into touch with the local Group Leader.

Poster parades in London will start from 6 Endsleigh Street; Dick Sheppard Club, Binney Street; and 145 Gray's Inn Road. Miss Morrison wants several other starting places and would like to hear from any groups who can send contingents to join in these parades. She would also like to hear from anyone who can offer a house somewhere in Kensington.

Eastleigh, the growing industrial town near Southampton and Winchester, is getting to know its Peace Pledge Union group. The citizens will have another chance on Saturday, February 17, for the group is organizing a Women's March and meeting.

Members will form up at 2.45 p.m. in the Crescent, and carrying posters, will march through the main streets of the town.

*Peace News* will be sold by a squad (and the week after a mass selling will be arranged for 3 p.m.). Copies of the six topical leaflets prepared by the group's Literature Committee will be distributed along with those used throughout the country.

An open-air meeting will be held either on the Recreation Ground or by the Railway Institute. Speakers will include Elsie Yates and Gwen Bagwell, B.A., of the group; Mr. Carr, of Alton, and others from the district. The group wish to make it clear that the march is not an isolated effort, but part of its local campaign that began with the outbreak of war.

## Unemployment Survey

Those responding to the request of the National Association Against Unemployment—published last week—for facts about war-time unemployment, have an extension of time in which to send in their reports.

These are now required to reach the Association (at Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, London, W.C.2) by the last day in February—instead of by tomorrow.

## Pacifists at Lloyds

We recently published a notice asking for those connected with Lloyd's who are interested in pacifism to communicate with Mr. John V. Hinde, c/o Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street, London, W.1.

Owing to an accident, the first batch of letters which arrived at the Club never reached Mr. Hinde. Would any people, therefore, who have not yet received replies (or, of course, any people interested) please write again?

## One Thing is Certain...

Stuart Chase says: "For any nation to engage in war now for ideological reasons—to battle fascism, to uphold communism or democracy—is a kind of ceremonial suicide. It is like the Chinese who hang themselves in protest against some public action. They have no assurance that the action will be changed, but they have every assurance that they themselves will be quite dead."

This is a new one on us about the Chinese character, but the point of the story is none the less true.

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